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THE FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE, AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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DESCRIPTORS- *ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES, FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, *OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE, *FAMILY INFLUENCE, ASPIRATION, MOTIVATION, ACADEMIC ASPIRATION,

THE 68 ENTRIES, WITH PUBLICATION DATES FROM 1935 THROUGHT 1965, ARE ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY BY AUTHOR AND ANNOTATED TO HIGHLIGHT THE FINDINGS ON FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE EVEN THOUGH THESE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN THE MAJOR FINDINGS OF A GIVEN STUDY. GENERAL STUDIES OF ASPIRATION AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION, SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE INVESTIGATIONS, AND WORK ON EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION AND ACHIEVEMENT ARE INCLUDED WHEN THEY HAVE FINDINGS ON FAMILY INFLUENCE, SINCE THESE PROCESSES ARE SEEN AS CLOSELY RELATED TO OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE. THE BIBLIOGRAPHY IS MORE SOCIOLOGICAL THAN PSYCHOLOGICAL IN ITS ORIENTATION. IT DEALS WITH THOSE INFLUENCES THAT ARE MORE GROUP RELATED THAN INDIVIDUAL IN THEIR ORIGIN. IT WAS COMPILED IN THE COURSE OF DESIGNING AND EXECUTING AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH PROJECT ON THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES IN THE FAMILY AS IT RELATES TO OCCUPATIONAL ROLE. (FP)

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F O R E W O R D

Studies of occupational choice almost universally recognize the important influence of the family on the individual in such a decision. Despite this general recognition, relatively little work has been done to specifically determine the internal family processes which have a direct effect on the occupational choice of family members. If students of occupational choice have paid little attention to this issue, students of the family have done no more. Much work is available on the dynamics of family interaction, but sparse is the literature on family interaction with respect to occupational choice.

The usual treatment of family influence on occupational choice is to operationalize the variable in terms of social class of family, father's occupation, or reports of the influence of the parent on some course of action. Other studies deal with general socialization processes not directly related to occupational roles (viz., authority, toilet training, independence training, value transmission, etc.) which are then used as independent variables to "explain" occupational choice.

Thus, this bibliography ranges widely and contains a peculiar combination of items. However, in order to determine adequately the kinds of findings available on the relationship of the family to occupational choice, this eclectic approach was considered necessary. The listing includes studies which have only minor findings on the family. It deals with general studies of aspiration and achievement motivation as well as with specific occupational choice investigations. It lists work on educational aspiration and achievement where these have findings on family influence, since these processes are seen as closely related to occupational choice. Finally it is more sociological than psychological in its social-psychological orientation. We have preferred to deal with those influences that are more group related than individual in their origin. The annotations are intended to highlight the findings with respect to family and occupational choice, even though these may not have been the major findings of a given study.

This bibliography was compiled in the course of designing and executing an exploratory research project on the socialization processes

in the family with respect to occupational roles. The first publication on this project outlining the general conceptual approach taken will appear in the near future.* Another publication detailing the initial findings is now in preparation. As these and future reports appear, it is hoped that work on this relatively ignored area of research may be stimulated.

Eugene, Oregon
June 30, 1966

Roy H. Rodgers

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*Roy H. Rodgers, "The Occupational Role of the Child: A Research Frontier in the Developmental Approach," Social Forces, (scheduled for December, 1966 publication).

THE FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

1. David F. Aberle and K. D. Naegele, "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational and Role Attitudes Toward Children," Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22 (April, 1952), pp. 366-378.

   Expectations of evaluations of over twenty suburban Boston middle-class fathers were explored as regards the occupational future of their young children. Special stress was placed on finding what preparation was considered instrumentally important in order that the offspring might ultimately attain a desirable vocation, as well as the behavior traits and values the fathers felt the children should acquire.

   Very synoptically, the following findings appeared to be significant: 1) College was seen as very important, especially for boys, but also was considered desirable for girls. 2) Specific occupations were little planned for; however, there was a generalized expectation that the occupation should be a high one with refusal even to consider less than middle-class pursuits. 3) Most of the fathers had themselves risen in class status and expected their children to rise even higher by virtue of their initially starting on a higher level. 4) Character traits considered desirable varied somewhat between the sexes; and, because of the young age of the children, general rather than specific traits thought to lead to success were stressed. Concern was greater over boys not meeting certain standards than about girls. Generally, fathers stressed for boys concern over disobedience, lack of responsibility and initiative, poor school performance, lack of competetiveness, passivity, over conformity, excessive tearfulness, homosexuality, over-excitability, lack of athletic prowess, and childishness. The opposite traits were praised. Girls were expected to be more popular, "sweet", pretty, and "nice" and there was some expectation they would cause less trouble.

2. Bernard Barber, Social Stratification, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1957.

   This volume focuses on the theory of stratification and views social class as a factor underlying and modifying a wide variety of social behaviors. Barber cites evidence and makes a case for profound class differences in family patterns, especially those having to do with socialization practices of children.

   In western societies the following general differences are believed to hold between middle and lower-class socialization methods: 1) Middle-class children are trained earlier to be independent and to individually achieve (especially academically). 2) There is closer supervision in the middle class to see that children do achieve; middle-class punishment is more likely to be emotional rather than physical for lack of achievement. 3) Middle-class standards tend to stress the long range rather than the short range goal. Occupations are typically, rationally planned for and trained for long in advance in the middle class. 4) The stress on independence and achievement is instrumental to many kinds of later occupational success.

Lack of such training tends to handicap the lower-class child in the vocational competition.

Barber notes that at least part of the differing class emphasis is the result of objectively differing life situations between classes, but most of it is a matter of social psychological differences within the families of middle and lower-class children.

3. Gerald D. Bell, "Processes in the Formation of Adolescents' Aspirations," Social Forces, 42 (December, 1963), pp. 179-185.

This 1961 sample of male Boulder, Colorado high school students included some 87 boys whose standard I.Q. scores were higher than 115. The study sought to locate some of the explanatory factors in the development of adolescent aspiration. Findings indicate: 1) Student motivation to produce academically was definitely associated (probably causally) with strong parental encouragement; 2) students who interact more with high school peers generally have higher aspirations than those who do not; 3) more authoritarian students are more amenable to parental motivations than less authoritarian ones; and 4) conforming students also followed their parents' lead to a greater degree than non-conformists. It is suggested that, from a practical point-of-view, educators and counselors might more fruitfully concentrate on certain types of youths (e.g., those with little parental encouragement who are also low in authoritarianism and/or conformity).

4. Reinhard Bendix, Seymour M. Lipset, and F. T. Malm, "Social Origin and Occupational Career Patterns," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 7 (January, 1954), pp. 246-261.

This study of a random sample of principle wage earners explored the variables of family background, education, area shifts, job history after schooling, etc., as related to intergenerational mobility. A disadvantaged family background was shown to restrict later occupational opportunities. Over one-half of all professionals' sons had worked at high status jobs, though many had also pursued lower status occupations. Sons of manual workers had a greater liklihood of being in manual vocations. There was considerable evidence of intergenerational mobility with a relatively greater proportion of manual workers' sons rising than professionals' sons falling in occupation status. This finding may reflect the increasing middle-class nature of the work force. Nevertheless, the probability of attaining a high status occupation is increased by middle-class antecedents.

The restrictions observed for lower-class wage earners stem, in large part, from relatively more circumscribed educational opportunities. This is particularly notable in grammar and high school. Both structural factors and social psychological aspects enter into the lower educational attainments for manual workers' sons. Even for the same levels of formal education, however, manual workers' sons are much more likely to enter manual occupations than similarly educated middle-class males.

5. R. F. Berdie, "Factors Associated with Vocational Interest," Journal of Educational Psychology,

34 (May, 1943), pp. 257-277.

The authors of this 1940 study of individual occupational choice for 136 college men were concerned with determining what background factors co-varied with certain kinds of occupational predispositions. Data were gathered regarding personality, intelligence, various measures of achievement, Strong Vocational Interest scores, and personal information on such variables as occupation of parents and own choice of vocation. A number of interesting relationships were uncovered. Some of the more interesting ones follow: 1) Results suggest a close relationship between fathers' occupation and sons' vocational interest profiles. No such relation held for sons' interests and mothers' occupation. 2) Generally technical interests were associated with low economic status while those with business interests came from high income families. There were a number of other relationships less related to family structure, but of considerable interest.

6. David J. Bordua, "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces, 38 (March, 1960), pp. 262-269.

It is well known that various social groups have widely differing rates of college attendance. Generally, high S.E.S. people send many more of their offspring to college, for example, than do those of lower status. In this paper, Bordua examines a large sample (N=1529) of ninth to twelfth grades of both sexes from several smaller Northeastern urban centers. They were: 63% Roman Catholic, 20% Protestant, and 13% Jewish (4% uncodable); S.E.S. was estimated from the father's occupation.

Results are as follows: Regarding the relationship between father's occupation and plans for college attendance, it was clear that higher S.E.S. was associated with greater plans tc go to college. The college aspiration was greater for males at all S.E.S. levels and religious groups but the difference greatly diminished in the upper-most brackets. Religious differences appeared to have pronounced effects even with S.E.S. controlled for: in general, Jews planned on college more than either Protestants or Catholics. Protestants had more college aspiration than Catholics, but the two groups were more similar than either was to the Jewish group.

The degree of parental stress was significantly related to college plans even when sex, religions, and school grade were partialled out. Nonetheless, both the sex and religious differences remained if degree of parent's encouragement was held constant. It would appear that parental motivation of sons and daughters to enter college is a significant--perhaps the most significant in this study--variable, but by no means the only one. There is some inference that more general values inculcated in socialization but not related to specific encouragement are of paramount importance to aspirations for higher education. Other factors which tend to co-vary with family religious and economic status (e.g., peer influence, attendance of good schools, sub-cultural emphasis or de-emphasis on learning, and the like) also have great impact on college plans.

7. Charles E. Bowerman and Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Variations in Adolescent Perceptions of Family Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 29 (August, 1964), pp. 551-567.

This study is an examination of marital, parental, and parent-youth relations as perceived by a large sample of North Carolina adolescents. Structural patterns are developed to relate the adolescents' age, sex, and social class with variations in the perceived power structure. The adolescents studied included 40% seventh to ninth graders and 60% in the tenth through twelfth grade categories. Families were crudely divided according to whether they were 1) mother dominated, 2) equalitarian, or 3) father dominated. Analysis disclosed that father dominance was most commonly perceived for older middle-class boys, while older lower-class girls more commonly perceived mother dominance. Younger girls most often reported equalitarian family power structure. Most striking were the findings regarding the fathers' perceived role in child rearing. Uninvolved fathers were not seen as a major source of support and encouragement. Good scholastic performance seems associated with high power in the father and relatively democratic parent-child relationships. There were many other suggestive relationships regarding power and effective relations between parents and between parents and adolescent too detailed to summarize here. Of some interest was the finding that the personal relationship between parent and adolescent appeared to more profoundly affect college aspiration than did the power relationship between parents.

8. Richard R. Boyle, "The Effect of the High School on Students' Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, 71 (May, 1966), pp. 628-639.

Previous studies have indicated the importance of both the predominant social class prevailing in a high school and of the parental status of the individual student. The findings have not, however, been clear as to which is of greater importance, nor have they indicated how the relative impact of school and family may differentially apply in various situations, (e.g., in rural as compared to urban milieus). Boyle notes that there is some empirical evidence that schools may vary as to educational standards; and, further, informal social pressures from both parents and peers also vary in how much reward is accorded scholastic success.

In order to reduce effects of divergent standards of scholastic quality, the author utilized a 1962 sample of Canadian girls from a wide range of schools. He reasoned that the more uniform and centralized Canadian system of education would minimize differences in quality of instruction known to vary greatly in American schools. Data was gathered on family background and college aspirations which seemed to clearly indicate that for high social status schools, even with father's occupational status held constant, there were nonetheless higher aspirations. However, the high status schools were all urban and comparison of urban schools of all classes reveals some rather complex findings: generally, ability (as measured by standardized achievement tests), school status (and by implication, peer influence) and individual parental background all appear important, but none is exclusively important. Boyle admits that the survey method employed only a very gross measure of family status and did not at all tap the inner dynamics of family socialization.

9. Richard J. Brunkan, "Perceived Parental Attitudes and Parental Identification in Relation to Field of Vocational Choice," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 12 (Spring, 1965), pp. 39-47.

There is general consensus that parents influence children's occupation decisions through their attitudes toward them and their identification with children (wherein parents negatively or positively project their own strivings to the child and influence the offspring vicariously to live out their own needs). Different authors stress one or another of these variables: e.g., Roe sees the attitudinal stance of parents as most important and Super views identification as the more important mechanism. There is some evidence for and against each position. Brunkan proposes three hypotheses which he tests on 298 undergraduate males at the University of Iowa.

I. "For (1) probable and (2) possible and (3) fantasy choices, degree of parental identification differs for the various vocational choice fields...depending on which parent is being rated and/or upon whether the real or ideal parent is being rated."

II. "For probable vocational choice, (1) choices in service, general cultural, and arts and entertainment fields (go with) a higher degree of parental concentration, (2) choices in technological occupations are accompanied by a high degree of parental acceptance and (3) choices in scientific careers are accompanied by a high degree of parental avoidance." (Generally follows Roe's hypothesis.)

III. "For (1) probable (2) possible and (3) fantasy choices, perceived parental attitude scores differ for various choice fields, these differences depending upon which parent is being rated and/or upon which attitude is being considered."

Findings for these complex hypotheses are also complex but the following main results are of interest:

Parental identification did not significantly differ among differing occupational choice groups. Identification with the real father was lower than the ideal father, but these differences did not hold for the mother. Males generally identified more closely to both their real and ideal father than to their real or ideal mother. The predictions of hypothesis II regarding perceived parental treatments of children and its subsequent occupational impact were not generally supported. Also the prediction of hypothesis III regarding perceived parental attitude variations and occupational choice were not supported by the data. Thus, overall results for all three hypotheses were discomfirming for the main part.

10. Francis Caro and Terence C. Philblad, "Aspirations and Expectations: A Re-examination of the Basis for Social Class Differences in the Occupational Orientations of Male High School Students," Sociology and Social Research, 49 (July, 1965), pp. 465-475.

Two possible attitudinal bases for social class differences in the occupational goals of male high school students are contrasted: 1) evaluation of the occupational structure and 2) perceived accessibility of desired occupations. Data are presented which provide firm evidence that perception of limited access to high prestige adult occupations accounts, at least in part, for the relatively modest occupational orientations

of lower-class students. The findings provide no grounds for either accepting or rejecting the differential evaluation hypothesis. Academic aptitude is considered as a highly important factor mediating class differences in occupational achievement.

11. Elizabeth G. Cohen, "Parental Factors in Educational Mobility," Sociology of Education, 33 (Fall, 1965), pp. 404-425.

Two working class samples (N=50 each) were matched on I.Q. and school. They differed only on plans to attend college: one group planned definitely to attend and the other did not. Differentiating parental variables for the two groups were sought in standardized interviews with both parents of the boys.

Among differentiating characteristics of parents the following emerged: higher responsibility in the father's working-class job or mothers of higher status white collar background seemed related to upward aspiration in the sons. Overt encouragement to attend college and favorable attitudes toward college attendance also appeared to play a great part, though, significantly, pressure for good academic performance was not found to relate strongly to upward mobility.

Generally, two basic orientations seemed to prevail, one being a very pragmatic concern for the vocational benefits a college education may bring, while the other was oriented to the status college education confers. Vocational orientation tended to prevail more for fathers and status aspects of college were more characteristic of mothers.

12. Phillip Cutright, "Students' Decision to Attend College," Journal of Educational Sociology, 33 (February, 1960), pp. 292-299.

This study consisted of questionnaires given in the fall of 1957 and the spring of 1958 to a large sample of Northern Illinois high school students and sought to relate the effects of family status and of the institutional impact that distinguish separate schools with regard to differing rates of students' plans to attend college. Multiple regression techniques were used to hold constant the various factors known to affect college plans with the result that there is some hint of the weight that should be accorded each.

The results suggested the following: 1) High occupational status of the father correlates rather highly with father's high educational attainments. Either high occupation or education of the father correlated very highly with college plans for offspring. 2) However, there are greater social class related differences between high and low status for girls than boys. Boys in all classes expressed greater intention to attend college. 3) In 1959 this study followed up actual college attendance rates for the seniors who expressed college plans in the earlier study (85% were located). It was found that S.E.S. rather than high education of the father predicted more accurately who actually attended college. 4) The actual in school rates of intention to attend college varied markedly among schools even with S.E.S. and father's education held constant but actual attendance showed much less variation between schools.

Intention to attend college is quite different than actual attendance which more closely reflects powerful familial and class factors. Effects of school climates appeared considerably greater for girls (in pushing them to attend college) than for boys.

13. Allison Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947, Chapt. 11.

Socialization, Davis observes, is fundamentally rooted in social class in at least two important ways: one is the family and the other is the social clique of peers with which the child will ordinarily associate. There is evidence of differing goals, methods of child punishment and reward, and anxiety control for families of various social classes. In addition, the social cliques which may serve as alternate role-models to the family are generally limited by one's class antecedents.

Perhaps the most significant difference between family socialization methods of the middle and lower strata and to a lesser degree the upper--is the different use made of anxiety in the socialization process. In particular, middle-class parents tend to tie anxiety to long term goals to a greater extent than either lower or upper classes. The child in our society is socialized within rank relationships wherein differential rewards and punishments are meted out to those who conform or fail to conform to certain injunctions of the parent or teacher or like power figure. Failure to meet expectations can result in loss of affection or physical punishment, while meeting the demands results in praise, or at least lack of punishment. Use of loss of affection is more typical of middle-class parents' disciplinary patterns, while lower-class parents use more physical punishment which generates anxiety only in the presence of the punitive agent. Threats of loss of affection, on the other hand, produce more pervasive anxiety which is associated with not conforming to the things valued by the middle class: such things, for example, as hard work, academic achievement, and the like. Thus, the middle-class child tends to become an anxious striver whereas the lower-class son or daughter tries merely to get by in the short run and evade physical punishment. Achievement, on a continuing basis, is the way to reduce anxiety over loss of affection for the middle-class child and this achievement becomes the basis for a mobility or at least maintenance of one's family's class position.

14. William G. Dyer, "Parental Influence On the Job Attitudes of Children from Two Occupational Strata," Sociology and Social Research, 42 (January-February, 1958), pp. 203-206.

Previous studies have indicated that the experience and attitudes of the father and mother about the father's job are influencing factors in shaping the attitudes of the children toward jobs in general. This assumes that within the family setting there is communication from parents to children about occupations. Along with the family factor, this study is concerned with occupational level as a variable

influencing occupational attitudes. Two hypotheses were formulated: 1) children's attitudes will be similar to the attitudes of the parents, 2) since white-collar workers are generally more satisfied with their jobs, their children will have positive attitudes toward the father's occupation, more often than children of blue-collar workers. Eighty-seven families, including all family members ten or over in age were interviewed; both blue collar and white collar were included; (45--blue collar, 42--white collar). Each family member responded to questions about the father's job and family interaction concerning the job. Results suggest: occupational attitudes of parents and children are in general agreement; white-collar families are more satisfied with their father's occupation than blue-collar families, but neither parents or children from either level are desirous of the children following the father's occupation.

15. Russell R. Dynes, Alfred C. Clarke, and Simon Dinitz, "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some Aspects of Family Experience on a Variable," American Sociological Review, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 212-215.

Psychoanalytic literature has often suggested that unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in early childhood may lay the psychological foundation for insecurity which is later translated into an over-compensatory struggle for power. To test this assertion some 350 university students were administered questionnaires regarding both familial affectional patterns (including such factors as: degree of attachment, amount of conflict, frequency of confiding in parents, feelings of rejection, parental favoritism and fear of punishment) as well as measures of aspiration, particularly in regard to one's ability and desire to forego immediate gratification in favor of long term occupational goals. (Women were quizzed in terms of advice they would give their husbands, not their own aspirations.)

The findings support the hypothetical relationship between somewhat unsatisfactory interpersonal family relations and high aspirational levels; high aspirers reported greater feelings of rejection than low aspirers; they also reported more cases of sibling favoritism, as well as indicating greater childhood unhappiness and less current attachment to parents than did their lower aspiring peers. High aspirers did not, however, differ from the lows on perceived degree of sibling rivalry or on extent of confiding in mother, or in the amount of conflict with their father. There was also no significant difference in unfavorable comparisons of school or athletic achievement or amount of disappointment parents would show over failure in the offspring. Thus, it is suggested that the aspirational differences are explicable not in terms of overt encouragement to produce, but in more subtle interpersonal family dynamics.

16. Glen H. Elder, "Parental Power Legitimation and its Effect on the Adolescent," Sociometry, 26 (March, 1963), pp. 50-65.

The degree of explanation accompanying parental requests for three types of family (democratic, permissive, and authoritarian) was analysed in relation to the adolescent's

desire to use parents as models, obey parental rules, and effect autonomous decisions. The sample was composed of white adolescents living with both parents (North Carolina and Ohio).

Results indicate youths are more likely to model after their parents and associate with parent approved peers if parents explained rules fully. Both autocratic and permissive parents were seen as less desirable role-models than democratic parents regardless of their use of explanations. Adolescent autonomy was greater for youths with democratic or permissive parents than autocratic ones. Explanations by permissive and democratic parents were associated with independence, while it tended to correlate with dependency for adolescents of autocratic parents.

As regards educational aspiration, there was evidence this is greatest where explanation is frequent and there exists only moderate or low parental power. Thus, parental legitimization of commands and suggestions is probably differentially associated with adolescent personality traits depending on what power context provides the background for the explanation.

17. Glen H. Elder, "Achievement Orientations and Career Patterns of Rural Youth," Sociology of Education, 37 (Fall,1963), pp. 30-58.

Recent technological advances in American agriculture are correlated with two trends which have significant implications for the careers of rural farm youth; the number of opportunities to enter farming is decreasing and the skill level required to farm successfully is increasing. Since the educational requisites for husbands' non-agricultural jobs have also increased, education beyond high school is certain to be much more important as a determinant of the life chances of rural youth than it has in the past. At present, however, we find rural youth are much less likely to be enrolled in college and are more likely to drop out of high school than youth from urban areas. Three sets of factors are proposed, accounting in part for the rural/urban values and goal-orientations, and achievement potential. This distribution of these factors between urban and rural youth and their effects on educational achievement and occupational mobility are assessed by reviewing relevant studies. Compared to urban youth, rural adolescents are more likely to be at a disadvantage in opportunities to achieve, exposure to achievement values and goals, achievement motivation, and in personal orientations. A comparative examination of the adademic progress of rural and urban youth in a large land grant institution indicated that the former are less adequately prepared for college.

18. Robert A. Ellis and W. Clayton Lane, "Structural Supports for Upward Mobility," American Sociological Review, 28 (October, 1963, pp. 743-756.

A study of the social mechanisms that lead lower-class youth to make use of college as a mobility channel. Focuses on a select group of lower-class youth who, by their enrollment in a high-status university (Stanford), already give evidence of being engaged in the

process of upward mobility. Findings reveal that upward mobility is linked to a distinctive pattern of maternal authority within the nuclear family and to dependence upon the outside structure for support.

Specific findings include: 96% of lower-class subjects cite at least one, usually both, parents as having influenced them to continue schooling beyond high school. In addition, 59% specifically single out one parent as the person most important in influencing their college decision. However, only 19% of the lower class report father as the major figure, in contrast to 51% for the remainder of the sample of students. When only those cases in which a parent is mentioned specifically are considered, the data are even more striking. For the lower-class students, 31% mention father while 64% of the other students do so. In contrast, 75% of the lower-class students mention mother, whereas only 48% of the other students do so.

The authors hypothesize that a "distinctive authority pattern" may characterize the homes of lower-class upwardly mobile individuals. They cite as evidence in support of this hypothesis the fact that in 37% of the lower-class students' families the mother had an educational level superior to the father's as opposed to only 9% in the other students' homes. In those lower-class cases with maternal education superior, not one student cited father as the most important influence on his college choice. Seven cited mother and three cited high school teachers. "Structural supports" outside the family included school teachers, other adults in the community and high school peers (who provide a general middle-class learning environment).

19. LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," American Sociological Review, 21 (December, 1956), pp. 703-709.

It has been widely empirically observed that the absolute occupational aspiration of those with upper social class backgrounds exceeds such aspiration for lower level people. Such data has been interpreted as meaning the lower classes have less desire to "get ahead", but such comparisons fail to take into account relative aspiration. The evidence is suggestive that different social strata view the occupational hierarchy from quite different perspectives; for example, the unskilled would define occupational achievement not necessarily as the acquisition of professional or managerial status, but simply as moving into a more skilled job category. Empey's paper investigates how occupational aspirations are viewed by male high school seniors (1954 Washington State) of various class backgrounds from both the relativist and absolutist aspirational points of view: in the relativist case, aspirations are compared with father's occupation, in the absolute case, aspirations of lower-class boys are compared with their higher S.E.S compatriates. Additionally, the analysis attempts to discover if lower-class boys seem inclined to reduce aspirations between preferred occupations and actually anticipated ones. Several hypotheses are offered which may be summarized as follows:

1) Absolute occupational aspirations will be greater for middle and upper classes than for lower ones; 2) relative occupational aspirations will be higher for lower-class boys; 3) lower-class boys will reduce occupational aspirations more than upper and middle boys when faced with the necessity of choosing between preferred and anticipated occupations.

Results suggest the following: 1) upper and middle-class occupational aspirations are higher than those of the lower class; 2) lower-class males do anticipate a rise in vocational status over their fathers; 3) however, these lower-class high school seniors did not lower aspirations if forced to choose the occupations they thought they would actually enter. Rather, they appear to aspire to those occupations considered attainable which are, more the less, higher than their fathers' occupations.

20. Robert E. Grinder, "Relations of Social Dating Attractions to Academic Orientation and Peer Relations," Journal of Educational Psychology, 57 (February, 1966), pp. 27-34.

This is an investigation into the relationships of peer social interaction to adult approved objectives of socialization. It was hypothesized that great emphasis on youth-centered activities might well interfere with, or outrightly negate such adult approved activities as academic achievement. To test this possibility, academic performance (as measured by grade-point average) was compared with social dating practices in a questionnaire employing four Likert scale items (sexual gratification, independence, assertion, and participative eagerness) as well as some other personal data for a sample of 393 boys and 346 girls of grades ten through twelve.

Generally, academic performance was negatively associated with peer relation interest for all four aspects for boys and for sexual gratification and independence for girls. Other findings were that the number of friends was significantly associated, in boys, with all aspects of dating, while clique membership was associated in both sexes with status seeking and for girls with the sexual aspect of dating.

21. Douglas Hagen, "Careers and Family Atmospheres: An Empirical Test," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 7 (Winter, 1960), pp. 251-256.

The Roe hypothesis (based on an extensive study of scientists and their backgrounds) proposes that differing family climates tend to produce different occupationally oriented types. Briefly, it is argued that a protecting home climate will produce adults in service occupations, a demanding one will steer the child toward business contact or general culture, a rejecting climate predisposes one to science, a neglecting atmosphere inclines the child to outdoor pursuits, and a casual parental approach disposes a child to technology. To study this hypothesis the author utilizes longitudinal data, with retrospective childhood and family material, from a sample of apparently normal Harvard students who were sophomores in 1938 and 1942 (N=245) and who were still being studied at the time of the research. Thirty-four of the cases were rejected for lack of agreement about what their childhood home atmosphere was really like.

Generally, Roe's hypothesis was not confirmed except for the casual group (N=6) which consisted of all technologically employed respondents. Roe further stated that general orientations toward people (in the case of protective or demanding homes) or against people (in the case of rejecting, neglectful, or casual homes) should also be notable. They were not, and the hypothesis, too, was disconfirmed.

The reasons for the rather poor showing may be several, other than lack of theoretical validity. Among possible reasons the author noted the small N and/or the much to gross measure of occupations. Also, certain occupations allow greater range of personality variables than others. Then, too, factors of early socialization may be incorrectly inferred from retrospective data. Hence, the Roe formulation may need refinement and modification rather than outright rejection.

22. A. O. Haller and C. E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," Social Forces, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 289-295.

This is an investigation of the influences of peers upon occupational and educational aspirations for a sample of in-school boys. "Peers" were operationally defined to exist when a pair named each other as best friends from a list of possibles. Social class of the subject's family measured general intelligence of subject and parent's desire for social achievement were controlled for, while aspirations for each subject were statistically compared with his best friend peer. Generally, similarities of aspirational level were found to pertain for both occupational and educational aspiration, though more strongly so for occupational aspiration.

23. A. O. Haller and William H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, 62 (January, 1957), pp. 407-411.

By utilizing a large sample of urban and non-urban persons who were seniors in Wisconsin high schools in 1947-48, these investigators have attempted to test the validity of Lipset's hypothesis on the supposedly lower occupational achievement by farm reared as opposed to city reared people. Generally, Lipset contends this is so because rural youths have little access to college, go to poor high schools, and are exposed to relatively few occupational alternatives, and, therefore, display less ambition to enter high status occupations or get more than a high school education.

The authors propose a number of null hypotheses regarding differences between urban and rural youths if the Lipset hypothesis is correct. Most simply put, the results are as follows: 1) For girls, neither educational nor occupational aspirations are significantly related to urban or non-urban residence. 2) Among boys, occupational aspiration is not, but educational aspiration is, related to place of residence. Farm boys did not seek higher education to the extent their city contemporaries did.

Thus, Lipset's hypothesis was only partially confirmed for this particular sample of Wisconsin youth in the late 1940's.

24. Ruth E. Hartley, "A Developmental View of Female Sex-Role Definition and Identification," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 10 (January, 1964), pp. 3-16.

The author of this study seeks to elucidate the emergence of the female sex-role in early childhood. The female sex-role consists of the complex of behaviors considered appropriate to persons occupying female status; it rests upon adequate perception of proper behaviors and cognitions for a female of a given age and status. A number of socializing mechanisms are suggested to account for this emergence of proper sexual role conduct.

1) Socialization by manipulation; that is, simply differential treatment of the sexes beginning in infancy without real awareness that such differential treatment is being exercised--eg., more "tender" handling of girl babies than boys. 2) Canalization; that is by provision of objects and experiences appropriate to one or the other sexes--e.g., giving a boy a baseball bat and a girl a doll. 3) Verbal modeling of behaviors; for example, statements "That's a good girl to help mommy do the dishes", or "girls just don't do that!" 4) Or encouraging identification with appropriate like sexed models; for example stating that a girl's hair is pretty, "just like mommy's". 5) Emphasis of differences in toilet practices between boys and girls emphasizing feminine kinship and male difference. 6) Increasing emphasis in childhood on domestic duties further reinforces the feminine role.

Out of differentially rewarded behavior there slowly emerges the little girl's self-concept as a little girl rather than a boy, but there is evidence of class differences. Thus lower-class girls are socialized to define their sex-role more in terms of work-roles while upper-middle class girls tend to reject such roles.

25. Robert J. Havighurst, and Robert R. Rogers, "The Role of Motivation in Attendance at Post High School Educational Institutions" in Byron Hollingshead (ed.), Who Should Go to College?, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952, pp. 137-184.

This article concerns itself with the impact motivation plays on college attendance. Multiple factors enter into college attendance; among these are: mental ability, family encouragement and expectation, cultural expectation, individual motivation, financial ability, and proximity to an educational institution. The authors delineate three kinds of persons very likely to enter college--these are: 1) the "high status static"; essentially he goes to college to maintain his class position and because it is simply the thing to do in his sub-culture; 2) the lower-middle or working class "climber" who desires to get ahead. He probably orients to higher status peers and rationally sees that hard work and college attendance are necessary if he is to rise; 3) finally, there is the "strainer" who has similar class antecedents to the "climber", but who is less certain and more ambiguous about how to rise. He may well enter college more or less without any great rationale for doing so, but with a general desire to improve his status.

There is an attempt to develop a theory which would predict

college attendance. Holding the factors of intelligence and proximity to higher education constant it is assumed that S.E.S. is indicative of social expectation and financial ability: high S.E.S. would be high on both and low S.E.S. would be low on both. The crucial factor deciding who would go to college would be individual motivation for those of equal ability within S.E.S. categories. Individual motivation was measured by such variables as peer status and plans to continue education and how this related to other goals.

A test of the theory was provided by two groups of youths from a midwestern small town who were born in 1926 and 1932. The evidence substantially confirmed the theory.

26. A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

This classic volume studies 735 adolescents of both sexes aged 13-19 belonging to 535 families in a "typical" middle-western community. Data were gathered from a variety of sources including school records, interviews, participant observation and autobiographies. Adolescents, their parents, and other townsmen were examined.

The information gathered of interest to us includes the following: 1) Adolescents' job choices strongly reflected their class position within the community. They were aware of occupational prestige hierarchies and generally of where their families stood within such a hierarchy, and expected, in most cases, to remain within the class of their parents. 2) Familial encouragement was the chief factor determining finishing or not finishing high school. The middle and upper classes generally provided the most encouragement. Families of different classes trained their children to act as that class should act. Over all, there was a remarkable pervasive class differentiation understood by all, but denied by many.

27. Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Common Man Boys," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Summer, 1953), pp. 186-203.

This is a study of 23 lower-middle-class boys (drawn from a larger study on social mobility in the Boston area) who had I.Q.'s high enough for college work, but only half of whom were in college prep courses. Five hour interviews with the boys and two hour interviews with each of their parents were used in an attempt to isolate significant differences between the two groups. The main general differences were 1) non-aspiring students tended to have parents who believed in "getting by" and saw little opportunity to rise because they felt more system bound; 2) aspirants' parents tended to orient more to the middle class as a reference group and to feel that they had not risen as they should have done; 3) attitudes about getting ahead tend to generalize to the school situation. Thus, seeing "getting by" as sufficient will minimize the importance of scholastic achievement; those who are mobility oriented tend to maximize it. Of the 23 boys, 15 had families content to "get by" but of the 12 college prep youths, 8 were from "get ahead" families, while 11 of the 12 boys not in college prep were in the "get by" group. The implications are clear: Parental status aspirations appear to be more or

less incorporated by the child as part of the socialization process.

28. Robert Kroger and C. M. Louttit, "The Influence of Father's Occupation on the Vocational Choices of High School Boys," The Journal of Applied Psychology, 19 (April, 1935), pp. 203-212.

The boys in four large high schools (N=4543) were asked to give information relating to vocational choices. Of these, at least 90% expressed at least one choice. The boys were asked to state their father's occupation, their own first, second, and third choice of occupation, reason for first choice, and whether or not their father had attended college. Data relating to the relation between the fathers' occupations and the sons' choices are analyzed.

The total population of fathers shows slightly higher proportions from the skilled group, and less than one-half as many from the laboring group as are represented by the 1930 census figures for the city of Indianapolis.

Findings: Nearly half of the total group chose professions as an occupational choice, while of the fathers, only 7.8% are engaged in the professions. At the opposite end, 11.4% of the fathers are grouped as laborers, but only 1.3% of the boys selected these occupations. It is concluded that the father's occupation is not reflected in the choices of high school boys.

The authors investigated the possibility that boys would select an occupation related to their father's occupation on their second or third choice. They found that boys tended more to select father's occupation as a third choice. This is interpreted as indicating that the father's occupation is more influential in determining the last choice. Perhaps, when confronted with the problem of making a choice, the boy selects first that vocation which at the moment offers the greatest appeal due to some more or less recent experience. When required to give further choices, many boys finally turn to their father's occupations.

An additional finding was that sons of fathers in the higher occupations tend more frequently to be influenced by their father's occupation than boys whose father's occupation lies lower on the scale.

29. Phillip R. Kunz, "Religious Influences on Parental Discipline and Achievement Demands," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 224-225.

This research deals with 1) influence of Latter Day Saints' (L.D.S.) religious ideology on child-rearing behavior, 2) the patterns of child-rearing in the L.D.S. subculture. A review of L.D.S. literature produces the following hypotheses: (a) L.D.S. parents are more strict in disciplining their children than non-L.D.S. parents, (b) L.D.S. parents make earlier personal achievement demands of their children than non-L.D.S. parents. The sample consisted of 145 L.D.S. mothers, 111 other-religion mothers, and 12 mothers with no religion. Guttman-type scales were used to measure discipline and achievement demands by using statements on degree of discipline used by mothers, achievements agreed on by the mothers and the specific

age at which the mother would start children with specific tasks. Data indicated that L.D.S. mothers give their children household chores and start their children to walk at an earlier age than non-L.D.S. mothers; no significant difference was found for toilet training, weaning, or playing without adult supervision. While the L.D.S. mothers are serious about their obligations, their religious ideology, counseling patience and perseverance negates the strict authoritarian family system. Though L.D.S. parents strive to help their children accept responsibility, they do not punish their children for failure, as was originally hypothesized.

30. Seymour M. Lipset, Reinhard Bendix, and F. T. Malm, "Job Plans and Entry into the Labor Market," Social Forces, 33 (March, 1955), pp. 224-232.

The article explores relevant variables entering into choice of occupation of a large (N=935) sample of Oakland, California household wage earners in the late 1940's. Questionnaires sought information about family background, education, and job history.

Results are roughly as follows: 55% of the wage earners in this sample reported that they had vacillated and been unsure of their occupation while in school. Both urgency of finding a job and the maturational process entered into their final decision to enter a given occupation. There was a trend for those who had received more education to have also been more advised from various sources about possible occupational opportunities. Parental advice was greater from fathers in high status occupations, than from less high status fathers. Sons of fathers in high status occupations were similarly more likely to develop specific vocational plans and these plans were for higher status occupations than those of workers' sons or farmers' sons.

Far more of the high occupational status sons went to work because they finished school. In contrast, working class sons concentrated in skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, or farm groups more often told of forced termination of school and entry into the work force out of economic necessity. Those who voluntarily left school before completion come predominantly from both business and unskilled or farm groups and reported termination at many levels including college. Generally, outside vocational offers seen as more attractive were given as the reason for termination.

Thus, there were widely differing orientations to both schooling and work force entry among those of differing family backgrounds. Further, mode of job entry was very different. Some, generally of higher status family antecedents, obtained jobs as a culmination of long preparation. Others, more likely from the lower classes, more haphazardly fell into a job under impetus of immediate pressure. In addition, the learning of the job opportunity differed with trained persons more likely to utilize formal channels to find work, while less trained ones are more likely to enter through less formal channels. For instance, more than half of those obtaining unskilled or semi-skilled jobs heard of them from friends or relatives. They also knew less about alternatives, and, thus, lower-class chances for mobility were further reduced.

31. Eugene Litwak, "Primary Group Instruments for Social Control in Industrial Society: The Extended Family and the Neighborhood" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, Microfilmed), 1958.

Students of industrial urban society have taken disparate paths in theorizing about what its effects on the individual and the family really entail. Most have noted a weakening of primary ties and an increase in fragmented families and essentially alone individuals with a marked rise in bureaucratic functioning in place of older less formalized relations. Another group has insisted that the change is more apparent than real and that primary relations in the family leisure and work play a very great and not diminishing role in urban life. The first group appears to be championed by "grand theorists" and the second by more circumscribed empiricists who insist the evidence, as well as common sense, supports the contention that the primary groups may have changed, but they are not really less important now than in the past.

This study attacks these antithetical views simply by stating both are, in part, correct, but need synthesizing. Large scale rational bureaucratic organizations do play a great role in employing, planning and serving modern urban industrial people, but primary group relations remain strong and even complimentary to efficient large scale organizations. Two such groups are the extended family and neighborhood groupings. The study (employing a sample of 1,000 predominantly middle-class white families) points out that the "modified" extended family consisting of autonomous intergenerational, but equalitarian and mutually supporting family groups, exists over wide geographical areas and compliments large scale organizations by legitimating job related moves over great distances and providing an emotional and material resource in times of need. The neighborhood can also aid by providing a milieu where new members can be quickly assimilated into extant organizations, but where mobility is expected and viability is maintained despite rapid turnover.

For substantially similar approaches see also:

Eugene Litwak, "Reference Group Theory, Bureaucratic Career, and Neighborhood Primary Group Cohesion," Sociometry, 23 (March, 1960), pp. 72-84.

Eugene Litwak, "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," American Sociological Review, 25 (June, 1960), pp. 385-394.

32. Eugene Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," American Sociological Review, 25 (February, 1960), pp. 9-21.

Parson's hypothesis that extended family relations are antithetical to democratic industrial societies because they are not consonant with occupational mobility is questioned in this study, and doubt is cast upon its unqualified acceptance. Parsons rests his case upon the assumption of a "classical" extended family with such features as patriarchal (or matriarchal) control; spatial proximity of members; command or near command work and leisure activities; and perhaps pooled income. Such a family set-up is clearly

dysfunctional in complex industrial society; and it is suggested that in its place there has emerged, especially in the middle class, the autonomous nuclear family consisting of parents and their young children, but independent of other family members. Litwak proposes that a "modified extended" family comes closer to fitting reality. In this formulation relatively equalitarian and often distant nuclear families are seen as nonetheless highly interdependent and maintaining of strong affective and material ties especially in times of great need or stress. Such families allow both for intergenerational status mobility and the necessary independence of movement needed by a dispersed, but interdependent industrial complex.

To test this assertion regarding the modified extended family, Litwak produced a secondary analysis of a large (N=920) sample of predominantly middle-class, native born married women from a housing survey of recent home buyers in Buffalo, New York in 1952. If the Parsons thesis is correct, the families of these women should have shown a highly nuclear pattern (as outlined above). The evidence was not generally supportive of the nuclear family thesis, but did, in the main, support the modified extended family model.

Findings include: The more mobile and middle-class persons, in direct contradiction to the Parsons thesis, were more likely to have continuing contacts with members of their families than were lower-class families. There were, however, considerable differences between families of the same status as to how much contact was maintained with outside family; those with little contact were said to be nuclear or non-family oriented. Helping patterns, especially in times of need, were typical and it is therefore concluded that the modified extended family and the needs of industrial society are consonant. Indeed, by helping in times of need the modified extended family is really highly functional by mitigating certain undesirable aspects of industrialism.

33. Mary H. Lystad, "Family Patterns, Achievements, and Aspirations of Urban Negroes," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (April, 1961), pp. 281-288.

A study to ascertain family patterns and change in such patterns over a two-year generational time period, and to ascertain whether or not different types of family patterns were related to different adult performances or expectations for children's performance in other social groups. Mothers in 100 Negro families in New Orleans were interviewed as to their families of orientation and procreation. The composition of the respondent's home during her own childhood and also during her adult life consisted of a mother and father in over 50% of the cases. For the majority of the remaining cases, composition included mothers, often various members of her family of orientation, and the children. The findings did not show the occurrence of a change in the incidence of family patterns between the two generations studied. There was evidence that family types were related to differences in social performances. As children, the respondents achieved a higher educational level in those families in which the father was both present in the home and active with children. As

adults, the respondents from these same families were more likely to have as the father of their child someone who was presently employed. The respondents in all family types held expectations for their children which were much higher than their own achievements.

34. Fortune V. Mannino, "Family Factors Related to School Persistence," Journal of Educational Sociology, 35 (January, 1962), pp. 193-202.

This study attempted to determine whether there were some observable differences between two groups of families of similar S.E.S., but whose children in one instance remained in school, and, in the other, prematurely dropped out. A sample of 77 white drop-out families and 34 white in-school families from a largely rural country in northwestern Florida was gathered. Both the families and boys were matched as closely as possible for such variables as age and sex. Data were gathered from mothers regarding parental attitudes to education, acquaintances, and occupational and educational expectations for their children. Two significant differences were noted: mothers of in-schoolers tended to show more interest and encouragement for their children's schooling, and a large proportion of in-schoolers were acquainted with families who had children in college. No evidence supported relationships between school persistence and mother's opinion toward education, mother's expectations for occupational achievements, or acquaintance with families with children known to be withdrawn from school. There was some suggestion that drop-outs' parents used more direct coercive techniques, while those in school appeared to utilize more subtle and positive affective encouragement.

35. David C. McClelland, The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton Century Crofts, Inc., 1953, Chapter 9.

This volume deals with the nature of motivation for achievement. Chapter nine deals with the origin of such motives and is of particular interest for those interested in the family's impact on achievement.

Motives are learned by differential affective rewards for given behaviors occurring in given situations. Standards of excellence necessary to procure rewards vary between different families, sub-cultures, and total cultures. Cultures stressing competition or early individual autonomy in task performance should produce more achievement oriented children and adults. It was hypothesized that those showing greater achievement needs would be characterized by being earlier and more often forced to master problems independently than those showing lower motivation to achieve--as measured by objective and retrospective measures of various kinds.

Reduced to their bare essentials, the following findings emerged: 1) Although not conclusive, the findings suggest high achievers are more likely to see their parents as distant rather than close and to feel freer of pressures to conform either to parental or other pressures. 2) Achievement motivation, for various groups of males, seemed rather clearly associated with stress on independence training by their mothers. 3) Some

subjects showed such high needs for achievement that this proved dysfunctional to performance. For example, on one sub-test, the "n achievement" test, highly motivated people would sometimes block completely. 4) Some unexpected findings were uncovered. For example, high achievement motivation has often been thought to be associated with heightened anxiety, but it appeared not necessarily to be so related in this study.

36. Leonard McLansky, "The Family Structure also Affects the Model Sex-Role Identification in Parents of Pre-School Children," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 10 (January, 1964), pp. 39-50.

This is an investigation of parental sex-role behavior in relation to differing stages of development of children within the family. The investigator utilizes scores on masculinity and femininity scales to find changing patterns between parents of pre-school children of differing ages.

Parents of some 99 pre-school and kindergarten middle-class and upper middle-class children (58 boys and 41 girls) from the Boston area were separately given mailed hour-long questionnaires consisting of face sheet data and items from Gough's Brief Femininity Scale (B.F.S.) and Franck's Drawing Completion Test (D.C.T.). The B.F.S. assesses manifest attitudes about masculinity and femininity, while the D.C.T. seeks to get at latent aspects of the same dimension. The findings covered five areas of interest; 1) and 2) score of mother and father on each test, 3) age of pre-school children, 4) sex of child, and 5) similarity or dissimilarity of the siblings in the family. Different family structures based on age, sex, and sibling members were hypothesized to lead to differing masculinity and femininity scores. Significantly correlated factors follow: 1) fathers in families having only boys tended to be more feminine than girls only families on the B.F.S.; 2) age of child was not significantly related to the B.F.S. score for either sex group; 3) pre-school boys with an older sister had significantly more feminine scores; and 4) girls only families tended to have the most feminine mothers and the most masculine fathers with this difference increasing somewhat with age.

37. Donald Gilbert McKinley, Social Class and Family Life, London: Collier MacMillan, Ltd., 1964, Chapters 6-8.

This book contains a wealth of empirical findings and theorizing on the profound impact social class has on family life. A few of the more important findings bearing on the themes of occupational and academic aspiration will be mentioned here, but a very substantive resume will not be undertaken.

The author notes the often stated contention that differential socialization practices of differing social classes are explanatory of the different personality correlates of the classes. In the United States, the familiar universal contention that everyone should achieve is at least partially unrealistic, and dissatisfaction with achieved role (i.e., occupation) may well be channelled into non-occupational pursuits such as sexual powers, physical competition and the like. This is termed an

attempt to achieve success through ascriptive roles. It is also observed that the freer use of aggression in lower classes is also dysfunctional for occupational success. The aggression grows out of frustration over lack of achievement and the punishment by physical methods prevalent in the lower class. The mothers of lower-class status are less subject to social evaluation and more frustrated by poor living standards than those of higher social status. The lower-class mother tends, however, to have greater power than the father whose economic provision is apt to be poor and sporadic. She is more employable and is perforce a greater power. The failure of the father has repercussions because he provides weak male models for the young males in the family and they are prone to over react by extreme forms of masculine protest. Weak lower-class fathers tend to retreat and further to alienate their sons who may turn to the mother for support or become a "super masculine" delinquent. Middle-class fathers, in contrast, tend to be a greater economic and emotional resource for the child and to exercise more family control than their lower-class counterparts.

The role of discipline mentioned above is likewise significant in personality development and the evidence suggests that the middle-class use of emotional discipline is much more effective in long-run motivation to achieve than in physical punishment which tends to be effective only in the presence of the disciplining agent. There is greater internalization of parental injunctions by middle-class children.

The middle-class parent seeks generally to fulfill the child's needs for affection more than the lower-class parent and to use the affective credit thus built up to demand greater mastery of tasks, especially academic ones. In contrast, the lower status child may be more punished for certain infractions but relatively little is demanded in the way of positive mastery. So long as he causes no trouble his parents will be satisfied.

There is also the suggestion that the usually more autonomous work role of middle-class father probably builds up less aggression which may be displaced to the offspring. The greater esteem generally accruing to high status jobs also produces less bitter self-condemnation among middle-class fathers than low status fathers. This self-condemnation may be reflected in displaced hatred especially to sons.

The author observes that both the family's position in society and its internal structure influence mobility. Low S.E.S. or low ethnic status can be overcome if family values and socialization techniques foster it. Data is presented which indicates that occupationally stable parents are the severest socializers, while offspring of those downwardly mobile were least severely disciplined and those on the way up are prone to be moderate in their socialization techniques. Upwardly mobile persons were more likely to obtain most support from their fathers; those downwardly mobile were supported more by their mothers. Also, shared authority appears to further upward mobility.

38. John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25 (Winter, 1965), pp. 585-595.

Michael introduces his paper by citing Rogoff's findings that, to a large extent, decision to enter college stems from two major factors: ability and family background. But, it is observed, high schools vary radically as to the number of college entrants they produce, and this is true even for those of similar family backgrounds and abilities within the different schools. Basically, Michael asserts, the differences are accountable in terms of differing "high school climates." Since good ability and favorable family antecedents are only maximized where outside influences tend to reinforce them, it is then to be expected that deleterious high school climates will reduce the effects of both. Thus, seemingly contradictory findings on the relative importance of family (Kahl found it more important in Boston) and intelligence (Sewell found this much more important in Wisconsin) might be resolved by examining the school milieu where each comes into play.

The author, using percentile cuts on a standard scholastic aptitude test together with such variables as S.E.S. level of students, size of library, type of curriculum, number of scholarships available, and other indicators of the quality of education, makes a good empirical case that good schools markedly heighten the performance of especially the lowest S.E.S students attending them, while poorer schools depress performance of high ability and/or high S.E.S students. Both ability and high S.E.S are relatively more predictive of college attendance in superior high schools, but ability is most important in good schools, while in poorer schools social status is a greater predictor of college entrance. There thus appears to be a greater waste of talent in poor schools, whereas good schools tend to mitigate family background differences and allow native ability more chance to assert itself.

39. William R. Morrow and Robert C. Wilson, "Family Relations of Bright High-Achieving and Under-Achieving High School Boys," Child Development, 32 (September, 1961), pp. 501-510.

This article is concerned with discovering the family relations which differentiated high achievers and low achievers (all high school males) of similarly high intelligence. A few previous studies had indicated that for virtually all levels of school, an emotionally supportive home situation was associated with high achievement. For this study it was hypothesized that family relations of over achievers, as compared to under achievers, would be 1) more emotionally supportive, 2) display more interaction and sharing in recreation and decision making, 3) have greater parent-child mutual trust, acceptance, affection and approval, 4) less parental domination, severity, and restriction, 5) more sympathetic parental encouragement of achievement, and 6) greater parental harmony. Supportive home environments mediate high achievements by instilling positive attitudes toward school, teachers, and

intellectual activities.

To test this, a group of 48 high school boys matched for S.E.S., school grade and all having a measured I.Q. above 120, but differing as to school performance, were given questionnaires regarding family relations. Results suggested that parents of high achievers do engage in more sharing of ideas, activities and the like. They are also more approving and encouraging with respect to achievement, more affectionate, less restrictive and the high achievers accept parental standards to a greater degree. But, data did not support the hypotheses that underachievers were more overprotected, that their families were more disharmonious, or had different goals for the children. Good family morale appeared supportive of high achievement only when it occurred with positive attitudes toward teachers, school and intellectual activity.

40. Paul Mussen and Luther Distler, "Masculinity Identification and Father-Son Relationships," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59 (November, 1959), pp. 350-356.

It is pointed out by the authors at the outset that masculine identification has been approached in three general ways (or some combination of them): 1) The psychoanalytic point-of-view basically seeing masculine identification as a resolution of oedipal jealousy by means of identifying with the powerful (father) aggressor. Essentially, identification depends on punishment. 2) The developmental position which maintains that identification emerges from the rewards of strong masculine nurturance and affect of the father for the son. Identification grows out of reward. 3) "Role playing" of masculine models is a third approach emphasizing both rewards and punishments for masculine behavior.

The authors attempt to experimentally evaluate each approach by studying extremely masculine and extremely feminine white, middle-class kindergarten boys using a projective "it" figure of uncertain sex. The highest and lowest 10% (N=38) scores were studied from a larger population. In addition, doll play representing father, mother and child was used to measure masculinity and femininity.

Generally, there was a trend for greater masculinity to be associated with more nurturance thus lending support to the developmental thesis. But a father who was both powerful and nurturant seemed to be more clearly associated with high masculinity thus lending credence to the role-playing hypothesis. Significantly, high power without high nurturance was not generative of high masculinity. The role-playing position, therefore, seems most firmly supported from this data, but with some qualification. However, nurturance, not power, was the main variable for this study. The implications for occupation identification seem clear: it should be greatest where the father was both powerful and nurturant.

41. Barbara Nachmann, "Childhood Experience and Vocational Choice in Law, Dentistry, and Social Work," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 7 (Winter, 1960), pp. 243-250.

This study takes note of some of the assumptions surrounding work and personality in an aim to empirically test a few of them.

Assumptions regarding work and personality(largely derived from Roe's theoretical work) may be summarized by stating that different occupations offer different opportunities for personal expression; occupational groups do vary as to certain modal personality variables; and occupations can be described in terms of major personality dimensions of those who engage in them. The purpose of this investigation is to determine how differentchildhood experiences might lead to particular personality constellations which would, in turn, be likely to result in certain vocational choices. Law, dentistry, and social work were vocations chosen because they presumably attract different personality types who, in turn, might be expected to differ on major socialization dimensions. Thus, law is seen as demanding verbal aggression, a concern with human justice, and the exercise of privileged curiosity. Social work is similar in demanding verbal facility, but permits less expression of aggression and has perhaps even more of a right to expect voyeuristic disclosures of secrets. Dentistry demands less in the way of verbal mastery, but is a helping and hurting profession, perhaps indicative of only partially resolved aggressive tendencies. It is also more circumscribed both spatially and in its duties.

A series of interesting hypotheses about childhood familial relationships were suggested (too extensive to record here).

Statistically significant results for a group consisting of college male undergraduates for each profession are summarized below:

Both law and dentistry students were more likely than social work candidates to come from a home where the father was perceived as more powerful (more likely final decision maker), stronger, and more successful. Student social workers were also more likely to see the father with pity, shame, apology, or distaste--or with affection but not pride, than prospective dentists or lawyers. Social workers also considered their father's occupation as more often feminine or unacceptable.

There were other suggestive differences as well. For example, dentists reported greater emphasis on cleanliness and on conventionality in general than the other groups--also a higher incidence of externally enforced discipline compared to student lawyers who reported more emphasis on self-discipline. Dentists also remembered more use of negative injunctions rather than encouragement, but evidence of severe deprivation prior to age two was greatest for the social worker group. A hypothesized difference in amount of illness of near relatives (greater for dentists) was borne out by the data. Significantly, little difference in sexual socialization between the groups was observed.

42. Charles B. Nam, "Family Patterns of Educational Attainment," Sociology of Education, 33 (Fall, 1965), pp. 393-403.

Educational consistency within

families is thought to be rather high. In this investigation there is an attempt to measure this consistency for families of different educational levels relative to chance expectation of educational attainments throughout the population. Generally, the findings confirmed the relatively high consistency within families. The consistencies observed appeared to stem from relatively high educational homogamy (marriage of persons of like educational attainments) and a high degree of "educational inheritance" operating through economic advantage or disadvantage as well as other socialization factors. The relative improvement of educational opportunities has somewhat vitiated the family differences, though clearly family influence with its manifold ramifications remains of paramount importance in ultimate educational attainment.

43. J. Richard Porter, "Predicting Vocational Plans of High School Senior Boys," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 33 (December, 1954), pp. 215-218.

This research is an attempt to relate three background variables of young persons to vocational plans: 1) the prestige of the father's occupation, 2) mental ability and 3) emotional adjustment. The sample was 100 white high school seniors of native-born parentage and with no gross physical impairments. The students were asked to project their occupation at age 25 (i.e., his "vocational plan") and were asked to rate first, second, third, and fourth choices. Data on intelligence and emotional adjustment was gathered from school and interview sources. Six months later a follow-up disclosed the actual course the young men or women were taking occupationally.

Several suggestive relationships emerged: 1) Mental ability and father's occupation both significantly related to vocational plan, though the father's occupation more strongly associated. 2) Emotional adjustment, as here measured, using a sub-test of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, did not significantly relate to vocational plans. 3) There was a considerable amount of consistency between what senior boys plan and like in school and what they actually do six months later. A large percentage do have definite occupational plans and follow them up. 4) Vocational plans are more stable than vocational preferences. 5) Senior boys select a broad array of occupations and the average prestige levels of their projected jobs were not higher than their fathers' occupational level.

44. Robert Rapoport and Rhona Rapoport, "Work and Family in Contemporary Society," American Journal of Sociology," 30 (June, 1965), pp. 381-394.

The central explanatory concept in this paper is the notion of "task" defined as those crucial transition phases in the family life cycle which have intrinsic stimuli that must be responded to in some adaptive fashion, and in which the response will profoundly affect subsequent family-work interaction. Such phases are said to be of generally short temporal duration, and the reorientations they elicit are crystallized in a short time. To clarify this process, the authors chose to

study the twin impacts of marriage and graduation for a group of young engineers. They theorize that consideration of the ongoing adjustments made in three relatively clearly delineated phases--1) the career training and engagement phase, 2) the choice of career line and honeymoon phase, and 3) the early establishment and early marriage phase)--would greatly improve the predictive power concerning subsequent family adjustment over prior methods which utilize only demographic and personality variables. It would also do much to spotlight the mutually interacting impacts of work on family and family on work.

Some considerable attention is paid to contemporary theory regarding work and family. It was noted that family and work tend to be more segregated in industrial than in pre-industrial societies;that work salience varies greatly, being usually greater in higher occupational brackets as compared to low ones; that work patterns tend to force family patterns into similar moulds; and that work-family interrelations vary markedly in different stages of the family life cycle. There is some discussion of the strengths and inadequacies of these theories, and it is observed that there has been too little research focusing simultaneously on the family and work.

This preliminary study of twelve young couples generally lends support to the Rapoport theory that the task accomplishment approach does point out the importance of studying crucial phases of adjustment between vocational and family interests. It suggests that such a study can aid in the prediction of family success generally, and also give us important insight into more purely work-family relationships.

45. Ann Roe, "Early Determinants of Vocational Choice," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 4 (Fall, 1957), pp. 212-217.

This theoretical paper suggests that a number of primarily familial experiences condition a child toward his ultimate occupational category. The author bases her speculations on a number of hypotheses and makes some predictions as to how varying antecedent treatments may be expected to produce rather predictable subsequent careers within very broad outlines determined by heredity and social opportunity.

Very synoptically her theory is as follows: 1) For most persons native endowment is highly plastic and may be profoundly moulded by experience. 2) The development of special abilities is such that its direction is usually involuntary. Children acquire unconscious or semiconscious orientations largely from parents without either being very aware of what is going on. 3) These directions are determined in the first place by the patterning of early satisfactions and frustrations. 4) The direction of these orientations is the major determinant of the field or fields to which the individual will apply himself. 5) These primarily unconscious orientations vary in intensity and organization, thus being reflected in the greater or lesser individual motivation to achieve or not to achieve. Further, the expression of motivated needs depends on ease of their satisfaction;

lower order needs may also block higher order ones and higher order needs for which there is no reinforcement will tend to disappear. A certain amount of need frustration may, however, intensify unconscious motivation toward its fulfillment.

The parents shape the child not so much by specific behaviors, but by generalized attitudes of dominant themes expressed in the parent-child interaction. Among these are: variations in emotional concentration on the child, e.g., overprotection or overdemandingness; patterns of avoidance and acceptance, e.g., emotional rejection, neglectfulness, or casual attitude toward the child or loving acceptance. Roe assumes that while acceptance is necessary, overconcern with immediate need gratification for the youngster may produce one who expects gratification as a matter of course without effort. Overdemanding parents, on the other hand, make affectional acceptance contingent upon great conformity and achievement and may, if the demands are too great, extinguish status striving and produce a child who prefers apathetic retreat to the anxiety of failure. Those who simply withhold love no matter what the child does also probably produce an underachiever.

One possible basic orientation growing out of differences of parental affect is whether one is oriented toward persons or toward non-persons. Generally, loving acceptance and emotional concentration on the child would ultimately be expected to lead to occupations involving interpersonal contacts with people, e.g., service, business contact, organizational, cultural and artistic. Opposite treatments would tend to produce those oriented toward such fields as technology, outdoor work and scientific endeavor. Roe's breakdown is more specific than this and has been empirically tested on a number of occasions with mixed results.

46. Ann Roe and Marian Siegelman, "The Origin of Interests," American Personnel Guidance Association, Inquiry Studies, No. 1, 1964.

This monograph reports in detail two studies, one of 142 male college seniors and one of 94 adults in four subsamples of men and women engineers and men and women social workers. It deals with a bipolar dimension of person orientation or non-person orientation and generally seeks to relate the person orientation positively to the amount of love and attention received early in life. The engineer and social work groups were drawn because they presumably represent extremes in person orientation.

Results were mixed and the authors conclude that the person-non-person continuum is too simplistic. There were, nonetheless, some demonstrated relationships between antecedent measures and later occupational choice especially for males. Same sexes of the two occupational groups differed consistently in childhood experiences but not always in the expected direction. For example, engineers of both sexes more frequently identified with their fathers and male social workers reported more stress and less affection than engineers. An interesting sex difference was that male engineers generally seemed to have the most tranquil childhood, while female engineers

had turbulent backgrounds, but good relations with their fathers with whom they tended to identify. Generally, males identifying with a somewhat traditionally feminine occupation (social work) and women engineers in a predominantly masculine occupation had more specific and stressful early background pressures than those who identified more with an occupation typically considered the domain of their own sex.

47. Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 203-211.

The sociological contention that social classes in the United States are characterized by a dissimilar concern with achievement, particularly as it is expressed in the striving for status through social mobility, is examined in this study. Social classes are thought to differentially possess two components of achievement orientation: One is the personality characteristic of achievement motivation and the other is a cultural factor consisting of certain value orientations. Incidence of both is said to be greater in the middle than the lower class. This study attempts to empirically verify if these class differences do indeed exist, and if so, to suggest how class origins might account for them and discern which factors are responsible for achievement differences.

Data were obtained for young boys from a northeastern city and their mothers for various family sizes, social classes, ordinal position, and mothers' age. Questionnaires, thematic materials, and interviews were utilized to illuminate differential achievement motivations and value orientations. Results were complex but, very generally, there was evidence of the following: 1) The middle-class boys and their mothers, in fact, display more need achievement in their responses. 2) Achievement motives can be, and often are, expressed through non-vocational behavior; to be effective occupationally this motivation must be tied to valuation of work and work related activities. In this study, the middle class seemed more characterized by achievement oriented values than the lower class. This valuation of achievement extended to scholastic fields as well as occupational fields. However, there were very significant intra-class differences as well, thus indicating that gross class measures subsume a range of variables. Rosen observes that values are very conceptually advanced and are probably acquired much later than achievement motivation in the socialization process, when complex verbal communication is possible. Achievement motivation might well begin much earlier; for example, by such basic mechanisms as allowing a child more (or less) autonomy in moving about, or expectation of earlier toilet training.

48. Bernard C. Rosen, "The Psychological Origins of Achievement Motivation," Sociometry, 22 (September, 1959), pp. 185-218.

Achievement motivation (n Achievement) is a function of achievement training, independence training, and the appropriate utilization of

rewards and punishments. Social class differences in n Achievement are partly a function of social class differences in training practices. One hundred and forty boys, aged nine through eleven, were administered a T.A.T. Responses were secured in such a way as to enable ranking in terms of n Achievement. General findings were: parents of boys with high n Achievement tended to be more competitive, show more involvement, and seem to take more pleasure in the problem-solving experiments; they are more interested in their son's performance, encourage him more, give him more positive affect, and have higher aspirations for him. Achievement training seems to be more important than independence training, and mothers stress achievement training while fathers tend to stress independence training.

49. Bernard C. Rosen, "Family Structure and Achievement Motivation," American Sociological Review, 26 (August, 1961), pp. 574-585.

The relationship of four demographic factors--family size, ordinal position, mother's age, and social class--to the socialization process and their impact upon the development of achievement motivation is examined in this study of two samples of boys and their mothers utilizing a projective test, interviews, and questionnaires. Achievement motivation is defined simply as the learned rearrousal of motivation to achieve in the presence of cues involving standards of excellence. It is the thesis of this paper that such motivation is inculcated at a young age and reinforced throughout childhood and later tends to produce occupationally mobile, aspiring persons. It is thought to emerge when parents set high goals for their child, when they let the child know he is capable and reward (primarily affectively) his task accomplishment, while withholding affect for inadequate performance, and where parents insist on some standard of excellence even where this is situationally not explicit. Independence training is of utmost importance, for the child must be not only taught to do well, but to do well outside the immediate purview of the parent or parent surrogate; the need must be internalized.

The two samples consisted of mother-son pairs from four northeastern states of very heterogenous, ethnic, racial, and age background (sample "A"), and of another sample (sample "B") of more homogenous, largely white, nine to eleven year old Protestant and Catholic boys from elementary schools in small Connecticut towns.

Findings are as follows: It was believed that small, middle-class families would exhibit the most highly achievement motivated children. The complex results supported this hypothesis, but only with considerable qualification. No single demographic factor accounted for very much achievement motivation if examined in isolation from other factors. Rather, the factors had markedly different effects depending upon other contextual variables. Thus, higher social class was fairly consistently related with achievement needs, but the relative impact of family size differed radically between the different strata examined. There was little relationship

between family size and achievement motivation in the upper brackets, but a strong tendency for boys from large lower-class families to have much less measured achievement motivation than those from smaller ones. Similarly, there were differences in the impact of birth order for different social classes and family sizes. In the middle-class sample, large families seemed to correlate with more motivation in the oldest than the youngest child, while in the lower class the reverse was observed. Generally, the hypothesis that younger mothers would produce more sons with a desire to achieve was confirmed, but, here, too, the finding needed qualification. It was only true for small families, and was quite untrue for sons of young lower-class mothers with large families who had lower achievement scores than older mothers' sons. Clearly, then, the data supports the contention that demographic variables are worthy of consideration but only within a multiple cause theoretical scheme.

50. Bernard C. Rosen, "Family Structure and Value Transmission," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 10 (January, 1964), pp. 59-76.

It is speculated that certain demographic aspects of family structure (e.g., social class, family size, ordinal position of child, mother's age) profoundly influence parent-child relationships and, hence, the transmission of values relating to achievement among other things. In particular, the nature of the parent-child love bond affects what learning will take place. Where the child's need for love and approval are combined with strong sub-cultural valuation of achievement, and where the granting of love is contingent upon adequate performance by the child, then it is hypothsi z e d that a child with strong needs to achieve will emerge. Based upon some of the known properties of family interaction, Rosen believes that such a pattern is most likely to occur among young middle-class mothers whose families are small, and more so for the early born children than for those born later. It was believed that children in such families would display greater value congruence with their mothers than those coming from other family arrangements.

To test this general proposition, data were collected from white, native mother-son pairs from the northeastern United States, (boys' ages: 8-14; mothers' ages: 25-55). Data included an estimation of S.E.S., information of both the values of mothers and sons, and also reports from mothers on certain child rearing and disciplinary practices.

The findings are as follows: Where the mother had early expected considerable independence in task performance and the son had behaved in conformity to the expectation, the later value congruence was greater than for mothers who did not demand such high performance. Mothers who showed the highest value similarities with their sons tended to utilize more physical affectional rewards, while those with less close value congruence tended to be more verbal and material in their rewards and were twice as likely to employ scolding or physical punishments. Probably the greater reserve of positive effect builds up a reserve of love which renders the use of

relatively milder punishments more effective than where such a reservoir has not been built up. Considerable evidence has accumulated that the middle-class mother in our society is much more likely to employ this kind of "conditional love"; the findings for this study are generally confirmatory. The data indicated clearly that value congruence increased with social class.

The findings regarding family size, value similarity and independent mastery of tasks was curvilinear in that the medium size family appeared to have the greatest stress on mastery and values were more alike for these families as contrasted with either small or large families. Ordinal position varies somewhat in its impact according to social class with the oldest sons showing the highest similarity in the middle-class sample. For the lower-class boys and their mothers, the values were most alike for intermediate children. In all cases, the youngest children tended to have relatively low levels of congruence. Surprisingly, the data gave little reason to believe that there were significant differences in the amount of warmth used by younger and older mothers in training. Young mothers did tend to emphasize earlier mastery, but for the whole sample, value congruence was greater for the older mothers and sons. However, this finding held only for the lower-class when the effects of class were somewhat controlled.

Generally, early training for task mastery and conditional love-oriented approaches to child rearing seemed most highly related to value congruence. Various aspects of internal family structure, as well as the family's place in the larger social context, did seem to generally confirm the author's hypothesis that younger, middle-class mothers would socialize their children for earlier task mastery and would display greater similarities in values at a later age.

51. Leopold Rosenmayr, "Social Stratification, Educational Directions and Educational Goals Among Adolescents," in Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie und Sozialpsychology, Sonderheft 5, 1961, pp. 268-283.

The impact of social class upon education chosen for children is the concern of this Austrian study. Results are based on findings from two comprehensive samples of 800 male industrial or trade apprentices and 1000 male high school pupils ranging in age from 15-17. Social class was measured by father's occupation and clearly indicated the considerable role played by class in this middle European sample as regards educational life-chances for offspring. The high schools prepare pupils generally for university and the better white collar jobs; the trade programs prepare their apprentices largely for semi-skilled or skilled manual labor. The trade programs had no upper-class adolescents, while 42% of the high schoolers had upper occupational status fathers and only 7% had manual worker fathers. Ninety per cent of the apprentices had lower class fathers, but 80% of the high school pupils were of upper or middle status. Although there is some mobility, the over-all picture is one of perpetuated class

lines. Lower-class youth also tended to rate themselves lower in capability than objective measures of ability would warrant, and generally their parents minimize the importance of higher education. Similar class differences permeated other aspects of life as well: the lower classes had markedly different leisure time activities than the upper and middle groups, for example.

52. William H. Sewell, A. O. Haller and M. A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.

A number of studies have shown that high educational and occupational aspirations tend to relate both to high socioeconomic status and to high measured intelligence. In turn, however, high measured intelligence and high S.E.S. are somewhat correlated variables. Sex differences further complicate the aspirational picture. This investigation is an attempt (using a sample N= 4167 of Wisconsin non-farm seniors in 1947-48) to find the main effects of S.E.S. while holding the effects of sex and measured intelligence constant.

Four null hypotheses were tested: 1) For girls, there is no significant association between educational aspiration and social status if intelligence is held constant. 2) Similarly, among girls there is no association between occupational aspiration and S.E.S. if intelligence is controlled. Two identical null hypotheses were formulated for males.

Generally, it was concluded that, for this sample, though intelligence alone exerted some influence upon both educational and occupational aspirations, the effects of S.E.S. remained strong even if intelligence was partialled out. Thus, those most likely to aspire strongly to educational and occupational advancement were intelligent youths of high social status, while those who would be least likely to do so would be those who measured lower on a standardized I.Q. test and had distinctly lower-class antecedents.

53. Richard L. Simpson, "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization, and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), pp. 517-522.

This 1960 study of two white southern United States high school populations (N=917) of boys attempted to find the characteristics of four groups of boys. These are 1) ambitious middle-class boys whose fathers are nonmanually employed and who were in college preparatory courses and planning on high status occupations; 2) unambitious middle-class boys not in college preparatory and/or not planning to enter high status jobs whose fathers were in nonmanual jobs; 3) mobile working-class boys whose fathers were manual workers, but who were otherwise like the ambitious middle-class group; and 4) non-mobile working-class boys like the unambitious middle-class groups except that they had manually employed fathers.

Both parental advice and middle-class peer associations were associated with ambition and mobility for both working and middle-class ambitious

boys. Mobile working class boys tended to resemble middle-class boys in extracurricular activities, middle-class peer associations and parental influence even more than middle-class unambitious boys resemble their ambitious counterparts. Parental influence appears to be the most important variable to all groups in determining mobility aspirations.

54. Richard L. Simpson and Ida H. Simpson, "Occupational Choice Among Career-Oriented College Women," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 377-383.

The socially preferred thing for women today appears still to be marriage and motherhood, with any other career playing a secondary role. This investigation seeks to illuminate why some women counter the prevailing mores and become career-oriented. Briefly, it is thought that most women will not become primarily career-oriented unless some unusually potent set of influencing factors have been operative. Such women would be expected, for example, to have been exposed to different sorts of people in their socialization to work.

To test these factors career-oriented and non-career-oriented college women were given questionnaires regarding their background (1958-59). S.E.S. seemed not to differentiate between career and non-career oriented women, but career oriented women did generally differ in their value orientations to work. They viewed occupational choice far more as an opportunity to exercise special abilities and to fulfill self-expressive needs--in short, they valued intrinsic feedback from the job rather than seeing it as merely instrumental and secondary to other goals. Also, career-oriented women seem usually to have been more profoundly influenced by some highly esteemed occupational role-model, especially a teacher or professor, but, strangely enough, do not seem to have been more influenced by parents than non-career oriented girls.

55. Richard Simpson and Ida H. Simpson, "Values, Personal Influence and Occupational Choice," Social Forces, 39 (December, 1960), pp. 116-125.

Values, personal influence, and occupational choice interact in complex ways. This study examines how these factors relate in hope of uncovering systematic differences in college students who plan to enter careers in business, scientific and esthetic fields, or general cultural occupations.

Results suggest the following generalizations for this sample of male United States college students in the late 1950's (N=75): Prospective businessmen tended to be interested in money and leisure, and less interested in work itself or occupational colleagues as an ingroup. Scientific and esthetic students were more interested in the work itself and prestige among colleagues--they also named more often teachers and people in the profession as sources of influence on their career plans. General cultural respondents showed less clear trends but tended to emphasize helping aspects of their work and to deemphasize parental influence, especially maternal influence.

Business and scientific esthetic groups differed most on values, but were very similar in stating the importance of parental influence (in contrast to the general cultural group). The authors hypothesized that lack of parental encouragement of a general sort may predispose one to enter the often less prestigious "general cultural" professions rather than to aim for high prestige occupations to which strong parental encouragement would be more likely to lead.

Occupational identity is seen as flowing--especially in the esthetic-scientific fields--from the development of a self-concept through anticipatory socialization among colleagues with strong non-monetary rewards for adequate performance rather than from generalized valuation of "success" or money.

56. W. L. Slocum, "Occupational Decision-Making by High School and College Girls," Family Life Coordinator, 5 (December, 1956), pp. 46-53.

This study is concerned with high school and college girls' plans and perceptions (the samples were from Washington State) as regards to future occupations.

Findings are generally as follows: 1) Girls realized as clearly as boys the value of post-high school training in obtaining desirable positions in the labor force. Nearly as many planned to enter college after high school as boys. 2) There were considerable class differences in the proportions of those planning to enter the labor force after high school and those who planned to go to college. 3) Girls tended to choose traditionally feminine occupations, but much preferred those of higher status, e.g., nurse, teacher, social worker, etc. While they chose high status jobs, the high school girls especially indicated that what they might get is a great deal different than what is desired. Few chose traditionally masculine fields. 4) Girls, as compared with their male counterparts, tended to be even more certain about their future occupation in high school and, in college, equally sure of what vocation they would follow when they went to work. The majority of both sexes had some firm notion of what they wanted to be even as early as high school. 5) The most important single factor listed by all girls in steering them towards given occupations was first-hand experience with the work. (Boys also rated this as the most important.) Parents, teachers, and peers, in that order, were ranked as the most important personal influences, though many reported no individual (s) as especially important perhaps reflecting the "hands off" policy of many parents regarding an offspring's choice of vocation. Roughly 40% of high school seniors said parents should help and about the same number said they should not. 6) Key individuals--usually a parent, a teacher, or friend, often serve to help the individual crystallize his or her desire to enter a certain field. 7) Age, actual work experiences, and job counselling all contributed to a narrowing of occupational horizons to some favored type of job. 8) Girls showed more tendency to desire work with people rather than things, compared to boys--probably a cultural rather than innate bias. 9) Girls tended to see marriage and work as something to be combined rather

than as antagonistic mutually exclusive categories. They see work as intermittent, however, and do not so often display the direct status striving as men do.

57. W. L. Slocum and L. T. Empey, "Occupational Planning by High School and College Girls," Journal of Home Economics, 49 (February, 1957), pp. 125-126.

This study (utilizing a 1954 sample of both Washington State high school seniors and 1952-53 sample of coeds from a Washington State College sample) asked a series of questions in regard to young women's orientation to their vocational future. The questions and a resume of the empirical findings follow :

1) Do girls make serious occupational plans? Most do--the majority of both high school and college girls had settled upon a single occupational field; only 28% of the high school sample and 14% of the college sample were considering more than one field. 2) Do girls view work as an undesirable second choice? While most girls considered marriage desirable and as taking primacy over work if the choice had to be made, most viewed both as desirable and saw no reason why career and marriage could not be combined, at least at some points. 3) Do girls lag behind boys in occupational planning? No, quite the contrary, high school girls are actually more likely to have earlier crystallized vocational plans, while college girls seemed just as advanced as their male peers. 4) To what sort of jobs do girls aspire? Generally, both the college and high school girls aspired to traditionally feminine pursuits, though the aspiration was for higher status women's jobs, (e.g., nurse, teacher, etc.). There was little evidence that the girls sought occupations usually considered to be male jobs.

Among this population, actual job experience seemed to be the most important to the choice of occupation. Other choice influencing factors were school study, parents, vocations of admired persons, good income and influence by various other important individuals.

58. William T. Smelser, "Adolescent and Adult Occupational Choice as a Function of Family Socioeconomic History," Sociometry, 26 (December, 1963), pp. 393-409.

Socioeconomic history from 1928-1946 for 93 families was used as an independent variable in predicting adolescent and adult personality measures of sons born in 1928. Families were classified into five independent groups on the basis of both social structure and change in social structure: high-status upwardly mobile, low-status upwardly mobile, high-status stationary, low-status stationary, and downwardly mobile. Rank-order predictions were made regarding the sons valuation of mastery, power and occupational achievement. The predominant rank-order of sons in their emphasis of competence and power was: high-status upwardly mobile, high-status stationary, low-status upwardly mobile, low-status stationary, and downwardly mobile. It was concluded that achievement at the level of the family was influential in

the development of such personality factors as strength, power, self-direction, and distance from others.

59. Robert A. Smith, Charles E. Ramsey and Gelia Castillo, "Parental Authority and Job Choice: Sex Differences in Three Cultures," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (September, 1963), pp. 143-149.

This cross-cultural study investigates the relative impact of parents upon their offspring's job choice with attention given to the relative prevalence of the "double standard" in the United States, Japan and the Philippines. The sample included New York (N=194), Manila (N=223), Tokyo (N=178), i.e., "large city" young men and women respondents, as well as "small city" returns, United States (N=199), Japan (N=358), and Philippines (N=230). In all three cultures parents did influence their children's job choice to a greater or lesser degree and in all a double-standard applied with girls being somewhat more stringently guided than young men. However, there were variations as one might expect in view of the three countries' differences in level of industrialism, cultural background, and family authority patterns. The study additionally sought to discern to what degree the double standard was accepted as legitimate by both sexes.

The following results were uncovered: The double standard obtains in each of the three countries. Males are generally seen as more legitimate in their efforts to oppose parental authority in choosing their occupation. However, youth in Japan display the widest divergence between sexual standards: male rebellion in Japan against parents is relatively condoned and female rebellion is strongly stigmatized. The Japanese males were, however, freer of parental fetters than the Filipinos (probably a reflection of the relatively greater occupational freedom conferred by Japan's more highly developed economy). Americans of both sexes saw themselves as less bound by parental desires than either of the sexes of the other two cultures. The United States youths also show relatively more equal expectations for both sexes in autonomously deciding on their job. Interestingly, young women in all three countries desired more freedom for both sexes to decide for themselves about their work than did males.

60. Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 204-212.

The author notes that there are two widely held approaches to mobility orientation: one assumes mobility orientation to be class determined with the middle and upper strata seen as strivers while the lower-class individual sees the limits of aspiration within his own class; the other assumes similar mobility orientation throughout the stratification system. There is considerable empirical support for the first position for working-class adults. Similarly, lower-class youths tend to aspire more to lower status jobs than do higher status youths. The author points out, however, that there is too little care taken to

distinguish between expectation and aspiration in most prior studies. His questionnaire data (for 1,000 ninth graders) sought explicitly to get information regarding both expectation and aspiration, as well as information about the boys' positions in the stratification system and their educational plans and curriculum choice.

Results indicated students do distinguish expectations from aspirations and that class position does affect both. There is a progressive lowering of both aspirations and expectations with a decline in S.E.S. Not unexpectedly, the upper levels' plans and aspirations more nearly coincide than lower levels whose aspirations outrun their expectations to a greater degree. There were also differences related to other factors. Girls, for example, planned for less formal training than boys. Negroes' expectations were lower within given stratification levels than whites.

Overall, aspirations were more similar than were expectations. Thus, if expectation is the criterion used, mobility orientation differs more by class than if ideal aspiration is the measure employed.

61. Murray A. Straus, "Work Roles and Financial Responsibility in the Socialization of Farm, Fringe, and Town Boys," Rural Sociology, 27 (September, 1962), pp. 257-274.

This study, utilizing questionnaires and school records, explores the socialization practices regarding work and financial responsibilities of 470 eleventh and twelfth grade Wisconsin males representing various statuses on the rural-urban continuum. The author observes that these two socialization tasks must be seen not only in terms of their manifest economic function, but also in regard to more pervasive latent values and behaviors which they inculcate as well as their profound impact on personality development. The boys were drawn from farm, fringe, and urban areas, but were highly similar in income. The occupational status of the town and fringe groups were generally the same.

Results indicate strong and early emphasis placed on task performance for all groups. Learning how to work is apparently seen as important by parents even when no economic advantage accrues to such work as is often the case for town and fringe groups. Regular work assignments commenced, for the great majority of boys, in the seventh or eighth year with the farm boys starting, on the average, a little earlier. By the later high school years, roughly half of the fringe and town boys had part-time jobs outside their homes, while roughly 80% had such experience if one includes summer employment; the farm boys had lower rates of extra-familial work, but they tended to work fairly long hours (usually in excess of 20 hours a week) on their family farm. Even among the farm youths, however, roughly a fourth worked to some extent outside the family context. While the farm boys were expected to do regular chores slightly earlier and usually for a longer period of time per week, they were accorded relatively less autonomy in handling money and were not so often remunerated for tasks performed around the farm as were the other groups for chores done around home.

This lessened opportunity to handle money among the farm boys is probably dysfunctional for those who plan to continue farming in the highly rationalized manner in which modern farming is carried out, as well as for those who will enter other fields. It is, however, understandable in light of the emphasis in farm life on the whole family as an economic unit and the greater identification of the farm family with concrete production of things with money entering into the picture in a more secondary fashion than is the case for most urban or suburban families.

In summary, nearly all boys seemed to recognize the parents' desire to teach them to work not only for the money that it would bring them, but also for its character building qualities. Farm boys worked somewhat harder, but had notably less experience in earning or being responsible for money.

62. Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement" in David C. McClelland, et al. (eds), Talent and Society, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958, pp. 135-194.

Strodtbeck notes that talent is the exercise of an ability in a social setting and not its mere possession. Expression of certain abilities in a social setting are instrumental to social mobility. Differential rates of mobility--presumably reflecting different stress upon "talent" prevail for various groups. Two such groups are second generation American families of Jewish and South Italian background. The former display markedly greater mobility than the latter.

The author seeks to discover what significant variables might account for the observed differences. Three sources of data were utilized: 1) religious and social activity, 2) child rearing practices and adult personality, and 3) small group interactive behavior. The face-to-face interaction of the third category did not at all distinguish between the two groups, but there were notable differences in the values of the two groups probably stemming from religious and socialization discrepancies between them. Notable among these are the following: 1) A greater sense of personal responsibility was noted for the Jewish group; the Italians tended to be more fatalistic than Jews. 2) The Jewish sample tended to show more loyalty to a larger collectivity than the Italians who displayed more concrete familial loyality. Italians were less conscious of the larger community. 3) Jews saw man as more plastic and improvable than the Italians. Individually, Jews viewed their own future as more amenable to their own efforts than Italians. 4) Jews were more concerned with good power relations with colleagues, while Italians were more concrete and likely to see power relations in very personal terms.

63. Donald E. Super, "A Theory of Vocational Development," The American Psychologist, 8 (May, 1953), pp. 185-190.

Super begins this paper with a critique of Ginsberg's theory of occupational choice finding it lacking in a number of respects, mainly that it did not clearly enough state how much occupational choice is a

developing compromise between one's ideal and one's limitations.

Super's own theory stresses the emergent nature of occupational choice; it is a development over a period of years with choice points, stages, and adjustment all operative. The theory can best be summarized by ten propositions: 1) People differ in abilities, interests, and personalities. 2) Most people have the qualifications to fill a number of occupational niches. 3) Most occupational expectancies are broadly enough defined to accommodate a certain range of personal characteristics. 4) People change with experience, education and simple maturation, thus making occupational choice and adjustment a continuous process. 5) Generally, this process may be seen as a series of life stages characterized by growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline. The two most important stages (exploration and establishment) may, in turn, be subdivided into: a) the fantasy, tentative, and realistic phases of the exploratory stage, and b) the trial and stable phases of the establishment stage. 6) The nature of the career pattern (i.e., occupational level attained and its sequence, etc.) is determined by an individual's parental S.E.S., mental ability, personality, and the opportunities to which he is exposed. 7) Occupation growth through life stages is facilitated by maturation of ability and interest combined with experimental reality testing and the development of a self-concept. 8) The developing self-concept, based on heredity and experience, results in the more or less adequate playing of occupational roles which constitutes vocational development. 9) Vocational development is essentially a compromise between the self-concept and reality worked out in role playing whether in fantasy or real life situations. 10) Subjective work satisfactions (and other life satisfactions as well) depend on the degree to which an individual can find outlets for his particular constellation of personality traits, abilities and interests.

63. Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers, New York: Harper and Bros., 1957, chapter 17.

Family impact on vocational choice is of utmost importance in two ways: first, there is the matter of intangibles such as information and contacts which families provide to very different degrees (e.g., values regarding the worthiness of work, educational background, geographic location, occupational contacts, family friends, peers to which the child is exposed, etc.); and, second, there is the impact of the quite different tangible resources available to children in different families as, for instance, capital to pay for occupational training. Since it is theorized that different religions value work in somewhat dissimilar ways, then the family religion might also profoundly affect occupational aspiration. It is known, for example, that more liberal and open-minded religious groups tend to produce more eminent individuals than more closed-minded sects.

Occupational entry is clearly facilitated by certain family associated factors. Early independence training, according to some evidence, is strongly predisposing to later occupational success. Also, the path to high vocational attainments may be eased by a

sort of noblesse oblige toward aspiring scions of upper or upper middle-class families by other influential members of these classes. The entry of the manual workers' sons into higher status positions, on the other hand, is to some degree hampered by lack of sponsors, lack of vocational role models for better jobs, lack of money, for necessary education, and a dearth of information about the proper entry techniques. Moreover, the lower status child is more likely to have experienced failure in the somewhat foreign middle-class milieu of the school and in social contacts with more affluent age peers, thus rendering him more fearful of the hurly-burly of competition with those seen as the habitual winners. The working class boy is also far less likely to have been early exposed to the skills and habits--for example, reading or bringing work home,--that are instrumental to success. He has less chance to explore where his greatest talents really lie because of a generally less enriched and less verbal home life. Thus, the differential in socioeconomic status plays a large role in the ultimate occupation that a person chooses by affecting the internal relationships of the family, and by providing considerably different material and nonmaterial extra-familial supports.

64. James W. Swinehart, "Socioeconomic Level, Status Aspiration, and Maternal Role," American Sociological Review, 28 (June, 1963), pp. 391-398.

Utilizing a structured open-ended interview and questionnaire, the author sought to illuminate differences in the conception of the maternal role and status aspirations for various socioeconomic level mothers (N=252) supposedly typical of mothers of their S.E.S. in the United States. Five hypotheses were generated relating mother's primary objective in child rearing, major satisfaction with the maternal role, and her concern over fulfilling her role. Generally, mothers appeared to vary in their primary child rearing objectives: the upper class stressed meeting social and emotional needs of children; the middle strata viewed inculcation of character and morality as the most important objective of mothering; and the lower class saw the meeting of physical needs as the mother's primary concern. Acceptance of purely "service" aspects of the maternal role was greater for lower class than for either the middle or upper classes. Findings regarding status aspiration were not clearly or unambiguously related to any of the other variables examined.

65. Ralph H. Turner, "Some Family Determinants of Ambition," Sociology and Social Research, 46 (July, 1962), pp. 397-411.

Several hypotheses concerning the family determinants of ambition were tested for a large sample (N=2175) of native, white Los Angeles high school seniors. Ambition was likely to be high and emphasis placed on educational attainment when the breadwinner's education was high relative to his occupation and when the mother's education exceeds the father's. Impact of father's and mother's education had roughly similar impact on the child's ambition if father's occupation was held constant.

There appeared to be a weak trend for intact families to produce more ambitious offspring than those not intact. Boys' level of ambition was found to be negatively correlated with family size, with S.E.S. held constant, though girls showed no such relation. In this study no relationship between sibling order or order of sexes and ambition was noted.

66. Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 836-845.

School districting tends to produce de facto segregation by social class as well as by race. Higher S.E.S. schools are hypothesized to produce higher normative expectations regarding academic achievement, because of the relatively greater stress upon this in middle-class families.

This general hypothesis was tested by comparing aspirations of boys for a college education among three groups of schools: those predominantly upper white collar, or lower white collar, or industrial. A study of 1335 boys--about evenly split in the three types of schools--was carried out in 13 high schools in the San Francisco-Oakland area. Only urban schools were included.

Overall differences were found to hold for the three categories of school with the highest aspirations in the upper white collar group and the lowest desire in the industrial class schools. Perhaps most significant was the finding that these differences held, though somewhat more weakly, even when parental occupation was held constant. That is, school climate appeared to be a highly significant variable in aspiration for higher education. Similarly, I.Q.'s were held constant and the differential aspiration remained between the schools of predominently high and low S.E.S. School grades tended to be adversely affected. Futher, other non-academic but class related aspects, e.g., occupational choice or party affiliation, are affected.

Thus, the impact of the school reference groups appeared to be very great in terms of steering adolescents into the "success tracks" and may ultimately have very profound effects on their total life patterns.

67. Gerald O. Windham, "Pre-Adult Socialization and Selected Status Achievement Variables," Social Forces, 42 (May, 1964), pp. 456-461.

This study utilizes three groups of Pittsburgh citizens to evaluate the validity of the assertion that rural society socializes persons to subsequent low levels of socioeconomic status achievement.

A random sample of 1470 families (excluding Negroes, single persons, and international migrants) was divided into 1) rural migrants (N=166)--those who had left home after age 15 and had come to the city; 2) urban migrants (N=220)--those who came from towns and cities greater than 2500 after age 15; and 3) non-migrants (N=1084)--those raised in Pittsburgh. Results of an examination of occupational status, income, and type of housing, as well as a combined S.E.S. rating, revealed that both migrant groups were somewhat higher than the non-

migrant sample. The urban migrant group was, however, more markedly superior to non-migrants than the rural migrants.

Windham believes that these findings, which so clearly contradict some earlier studies, indicate that it is not the urban-rural dimension per se which is explanatory but rather the development of a self-concept which includes aspiration and achievement as an integral feature. It is conjectured that such a self-concept would likely grow out of early stress on non-farm occupations, educational encouragement, and, perhaps, higher local social status. The need was noted for a longitudinal study of migrants before and after coming to the city--and, one might add, for a study of parents of migrants and of non-migrants as well.

68. M. R. Winterbottom, "The Relation of Childhood Training in Independence to Achievement Motivation," unpublished study cited in David C. McClelland, et al., The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton Century Crofts, Inc., 1953, pp. 297, 302,305,313.

Winterbottom has garnered some evidence that need achievement is associated with stress on independence training. She obtained stories from twenty-nine normal eight to ten year old boys, elicited by verbal clues in both relaxed and achievement-orientated conditions. Then information was gathered from the boys' mothers regarding their attitudes toward independence training. Generally, these findings included the following: 1) Both high and low need achievement boys had mothers who were roughly equal in their demands, but the high group tended to expect more of the demands to be met and expected them generally to be met earlier in life. 2) Low achievement boys tended to have more restrictions placed on them (according to their mothers' reports) at all ages as compared with high achievement boys.

In short, boys telling stories characterized by low achievement themes, had mothers who stated that they demanded less in the way of independence achievement and restricted their boys more than the other mothers examined.